5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

TABLE II/9

657 **REVISED ESTIMATES OF HIGATURU LOCAL GOVERNMENT COUNCIL FOR JULY 1966–JUNE 1967 (*abridged*)**

Revenues		*Expenditures*	
Tax: 2000 males	$16,000	*A. Personal Emolument*	
1000 females	1,000	Council President	$ 156
Truck Hire	13,000	Council Vice-President	108
		Councillors	1,560
Aid Post Orderlies Subsidy	1,250	Exec., Fin. Ctee	108
		Council Clerk	1,170
Water Supply Subsidy	3,320	Messenger	390
Aid Post Subsidy	240	Landrover Driver	500
		Truck Drivers	1,450
Adult Education Subsidy	780	Agric. Fieldworker	234
		Market Manager	260
Miscellaneous	2,900	Aid Post Orderlies	2,500
Total	$38,490	*Total*	$ 8,692
		B. Revenue Expenditure	
		Council Administration	$ 1,000
		Transport	5,000
		Drugs	720
		Adult Education	780
		Other Items	1,686
		Total	$ 9,186
		C. Capital Expenditure	
		Drivers' houses (2)	$ 2,200
		Council Staff House	800
		Council House Furniture	500
		Market Building	1,500
		Staff, House, Health, Personnel	800
		Water Supplies (16 villages)	6,565
		Clinics (3 villages)	900
		Roading (3 projects)	6,070
		Other Items	2,099
		Total	$21,434
		Grand Total	$39,212

Council were road building, improvement of water supplies, building medical aid posts, maintaining produce markets at Popondetta and Saiho and the operation [651] of trucks to provide extra revenue. Most revenue was derived from a head tax of $8 per annum for every adult male and $2 per annum for every adult female. The central government paid a 50 per cent subsidy on certain Council projects. [474] [245] Between 1959 and 1962, the Council also ran the coffee processing factory operated for Orokaiva producers, but this was transferred to the control of an

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
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Orokaiva Coffee-Grower Society, a producers' co-operative formed for the purpose.

The Council is made up of twenty-six Orokaiva members who are paid a monthly stipend. However, in practice a government adviser attached to the Council appears to determine policy. Indigenous attitudes to the Council are analysed in detail in Schwimmer 1967. Together with the Coffee Society, it has offered the Orokaiva some political participation and the importance of this new departure is vividly recognised by the people.

The New Age. Since the Second World War, a great many ideas from the outside world have been communicated to the Orokaiva. I have already mentioned economic, and some political ideas; in addition, the Anglican mission began to attract many converts, especially after the Mount Lamington disaster. By 1964, the great majority of Orokaiva were baptised.

The establishment of the House of Assembly in Port Moresby, giving limited powers of political decision to Papuan representatives elected by universal suffrage, has introduced new patterns in village life: meetings with the local member, with other candidates, and with organisers acting for these candidates and presenting political argument. The personnel of the local government council tends to be deeply committed in national politics and to talk about political affairs when visiting villages.

During such discussions, the Orokaiva are beginning to learn that an end to Australian rule is conceivable and that they will have some voice in decisions relating to the independence of their own country. They fully recognise that this makes an immediate difference to the balance of power between themselves and

TABLE II/10

EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL EXPERIENCE OF THE JEGASE AND SEHO CLANS OF SIVEPE COMPARED – ADULT MALES ONLY

Approximate Period	*Education*		*Occupational Experience*	
	Seho	*Jegase*	*Seho*	*Jegase*
Nil	6	6	4	5
1 year	–	1	1	2
2 years	–	2	1	–
3 years	–	1	–	–
4 years	–	2	–	2
5 years	–	–	–	1
6 years	–	1	–	–
7 years			–	–
8 years			–	–
Over 8 years			–	4
Data vague	2	1	2	–
Total	8	14	8	14

Community rice and cocoa projects

In 1948, the Christian Co-operative Movement was formed by Father Clint of the Anglican Mission at Gona. The movement spread spontaneously throughout the Orokaiva country, though most of the co-operatives were only nominally linked to the mission.(1) The main activity of the co-operatives was the growing of rice, but some grew subsistence foods also, and others made copra. Although the movement was referred to as a co-operative, its agricultural activities were in most cases communal: all participants were supposed to work at the same time and to undertake whatever work was allotted to them by the group leaders, and the benefits derived were to have been shared equally. Moreover, at least some villages required all resident adult males to participate in the scheme.

In most instances the village worked as the unit of production, but in some cases several neighbouring villages worked together. Some large villages were divided into one or more groups for the purpose of the community rice garden. Each group had a committee of management and a chairman.

In general Monday and Tuesday of each week were set aside for work on the community gardens. Official patrol reports noted that the movement had taken on many aspects of a cult. All stages of work were associated with an unusual amount of religious activity and the tools and buildings of the co-operatives were treated with great veneration. Keesing (1952 : 7) speaks of an "absorbing mystical context" and of rumours that Europeans would leave Papua as a result of the co-operatives. An official observer stated that the people considered "mere participation in the co-operatives would, magically or mystically, quickly raise their status in all respects to that of Europeans". Orokaiva people have pointed out to us that cash cropping projects initiated by the government had invariably failed. They felt that a mission project might be more successful. Moreover, whereas they were uncertain of the government's motives they felt the mission to be "on the side of the people", for by introducing them to co-

(1) The co-operative movement in this area is described in more detail in Dakeyne, 1963.

operatives they had given them the key to European prosperity. 461 [797]

Local enthusiasm was strong and a large acreage of rice was grown. However, no marketing facilities had been provided and although the mission had promoted the crop mainly to supplement traditional subsistence foods, most Orokaiva seem to have regarded it as a cash crop. They already had a plentiful range and volume of subsistence foods, and rice was not only harder to grow but also more difficult to prepare than the existing crops. Most of the rice grown was neither sold nor eaten, but was left to rot in the storehouses. 243 433

It is interesting to note that at Ongoho, despite the unfortunate experience with other community crops, all inhabitants of the same nine villages came together to plant a single rice plot. The project was organized by Haruma, the coffee boss, and the rice was planted on the land of the Akute'undi sub-clan. The crop was planted in 1949, and the rice was stored in a house built for the purpose. None of the rice was sold, a little was used for food, but most was left to rot. The experiment was not repeated. When asked why everyone combined to grow the rice instead of growing it individually, the people claimed that they had not realized at that time that cash crops could be grown by individuals. This view may seem incredible to a European, but we have heard it quoted in many parts of the Orokaiva area. Their whole experience of cash cropping had been of large scale enterprises, whether private European plantations, government plantations (which were established adjacent to many district headquarters), compulsory plantings under the regulations, or communal plantations under the ordinance. The introduction in 1955-6 of the concept of cash cropping by individuals was in a very real sense revolutionary.(1)

The idea of community economic activity was again given a boost in 1949 when war damage compensation was paid out. A small proportion was paid in cash, but most was deposited in savings bank accounts. Many government officers then in the area noted that the money was being used to buy 434 454 474

(1) It must be pointed out, however, that among the Orokaiva food gardening had always been undertaken by individuals. [241]

474 foodstuffs and for ceremonial exchanges and some urged the people to deposit their compensation money in a central fund for use by the community as a whole. Many leaders took this advice and collected large sums for the co-operatives. Some of the money was kept in the villages, but some was contributed to central funds which were held on a tribal or sub-tribal basis.

Few of the leaders had the technical knowledge to know how to handle the funds or to apply them to productive projects, and much of the money was dissipated in unproductive [657] activities. About 1950 government Co-operative Officers were sent to assist the establishment of formal co-operatives and to save the many existing informal co-operatives from disintegration with consequent public loss of faith. The officers were able to make headway in some instances, but in other cases the funds were already exhausted and the people disillusioned. In cases where the funds remained, the government insisted on their being handed back to the original contributors before any official co-operative was formed (Belshaw, 1951 : 250).

657 24 Efforts to increase indigenous participation in commercial agriculture in the Northern District in the post-war decade had met with little success and in 1954 the Department of Native Affairs resumed pre-war patterns of promoting commercial agriculture. Additional police were stationed in the area, particularly on the inland side of the Kumusi River but to [466] a lesser extent among the Orokaiva also. One policeman was based at each of a number of villages and each village was required to clear a community garden for cocoa planting.

The Department of Agriculture staff did not favour any extension of community planting and put its emphasis on individual cash crop gardens but, in the early stages at least, this action was strongly opposed by both the mission and the [777] patrol staff. Missionaries who were involved feared that individual cash cropping would lead to abandonment of the villages as each individual would probably want to live near his own cash crop garden. They felt that this would result in a reduction of religious and educational activity and may lead to a resurgence of non-Christian practices. Patrol staff too opposed individual plantings at that time, in some instances it seems because of an erroneous notion that traditional agriculture was

Appendix B

The local co-operative venture

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The 3 clan branches in Sivepe have contributed to 2 joint savings accounts; one is shared by Seho and Jegase members and the other belongs to Timumu clansmen. These accounts were opened as part of a scheme involving several neighbouring villages.

In 1960 an officer of the Department of District Administration had recommended that the people in Sivepe and other villages consider opening savings accounts but they claim it was their own wish to pool their money for savings certificates in order to invest in some form of local amenity for which they had for some time been looking to the local government council.

[m]

The members of 2 clan branches at Hamburata village were the first to collect contributions under the leadership of an ex-medical orderly with 6 years' mission education, and others quickly followed their example. Soon most members of 12 clans in 7 villages, Hamburata, Sasembata, Torogata, Sivepe, Singi, Duve and Garombi had deposited money in a 'clan' account and scattered kinsmen in at least 4 other villages had contributed. Either following advice that a given figure should be the target for the first purchase of savings certificates or following an initial example, each of the 12 clans claimed to have collected £30 at first. Ten of them made a second collection of smaller amounts.

In June 1961 the Seho and Jegase people collected £30 and, as the others had already done, bought savings certificates to mature in 5 years. In July another £26 was collected and deposited but no further money has been collected since then.

Once the money had been collected advice was sought from the District Office as to how it might be invested. The plan eventually formulated was that the savings of all clans should be used to establish a trade store and later to acquire a vehicle to supply it. They were advised to arrange to have only an experienced man to manage the enterprise in its first stages and a Sasembata mission

454 teacher who had undertaken part of a co-operatives storeman's
474 course was approached for advice. They decided to attempt to finance training for co-operatives for 2 men, but it was over a year before agreement could be reached on the selection of the trainees, 2 Administration Servants employed in Popondetta.

By this time the teacher had disassociated himself from the scheme and advised the participants to discontinue it on the grounds that they had proved themselves incapable of organizing properly constituted meetings, that the villages had failed to co-operate with one another and that they would not seek the assistance of government officers. He told them that the joint accounts were unworkable and that they would need to buy individual £5 shares if they were to proceed with the scheme.

578 The development of the enterprise up to the date of our survey had been impeded by the failure to agree upon a name, an issue which those involved feel to be fundamental, and by the absence of widely accepted leadership. Meetings have been marked by disputes between local government councillors, teachers and leaders of the various descent groups participating and some decisions arrived at during meetings have not been supported by villagers who did not attend.

However, we have received some indication since leaving Sivepe that more positive co-ordination in the neighbourhood has been achieved in the meantime and concrete plans have been put forward with a view to establishing and operating a co-operative store on the main road to Popondetta (E. Waddell: personal communication). [366] There are at present at least 3 trade stores within easier reach of Sivepe than this.

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23

was also diverted to the plantations being established in the Sangara area under the Ex-Servicemen's Credit Scheme.[1]

The increased rate of development after the war, a re-orientation in policy towards individual rather than communal holdings, the allocation of the majority of settlement blocks under the ex-servicemen's scheme to Papuans and New Guineans, and the establishment of the Higaturu Local Government Council in 1956 and the Oro Bay Council in 1963 have probably all served to transmit to the Orokaiva a sense of participation in the development process. At the same time, incentives for the acquisition of cash have grown with the proliferation of trade stores (including over twenty owned by Orokaiva men) and the establishment of companies seeking local share capital, while interest in the sale of produce has increased with improvement in communications and with immediate cash payments for such sales.

An important factor in the growth of interest in cash cropping has been the implementation of a variety of land tenure and marketing schemes, directed entirely towards the indigenous producers and in part initiated by them. Since 1957 the Higaturu council has been encouraging the registration of individual cash crop holdings,[2] the Yega people at Gona have begun subdividing clan land into permanent holdings, while similar developments within the context of the Land (Tenure Conversion) Ordinance 1963 have already been initiated.[3] There are now ten co-operatives operating in the sub-district, predominantly along the coast; most are concerned primarily with marketing copra and providing retail stores, but this also includes the Orokaiva Coffee Growers' Society (OCGS), which was established in 1962 to operate a factory previously erected by the Higaturu Local Government Council and to purchase coffee from the growers.[4] By the end of 1964 subscriptions by villagers amounted to $7,010, held in $10 shares, 65 per cent of this total having been raised in the first six months of operation. The society paid its first dividend of 5 per cent in November 1964.

In 1963 an expatriate planter established a local trading company, Oro Ltd, comprising three Papuans on its board of six directors and seeking local share capital in minimum holdings of $5. Again

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[1] See Howlett 1965, for a detailed description.

[2] See Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:89-93.

[3] Each with varying degrees of success. The Higaturu scheme, for instance, fell into abeyance in 1964 due to a shortage of staff capable of surveying the holdings for which registration had been requested, as well as its doubtful legal validity.

[4] See Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:94-6.

24 [433] holdings of commercial trees are not fully, and sometimes not at all, exploited by the owners.[1]

Most have been established on land cleared for the purpose and are seldom interplanted with subsistence crops. However, a 'catch crop' of taro, sweet potato or corn may be taken from the newly cleared land before planting coffee or cocoa and it is only now becoming common to plant commercial trees in subsistence gardens after the food crops have been harvested.[2]

245 The techniques of cultivating and processing cash crops within the village are simple. Coffee is sold in parchment form. In most cases the cherries are pulped by stamping in a creek to split them open, and then the beans are removed by hand and washed. Some villages possess pulping machines. After fermenting for about twenty-four hours in wooden containers, the beans are washed again and sun-dried. A few people erect drying platforms but most simply spread the beans on sleeping-mats in the village square. The buying agency rejects parchment that has not been adequately dried but no price differentials are applied. The coffee season extends from about March to October and people may begin weeding some weeks beforehand. OCGS announces the season's coffee price (as determined by world market conditions) some weeks before buying commences, but few producers learn it in advance and, since they need to begin harvesting a month or two before the time of sale, the element of uncertainty may deter them from maintenance and harvesting even in years of high prices. All coffee is purchased by the society, which is sometimes prevented from buying by lack of funds, lack of transport, or by the poor state of the roads. Buyers may visit only once a month or less.[3] There is scope for an immediate quadrupling of production from existing trees,[4] and more active campaigns and perhaps additional buyers might help achieve this.

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245 Cocoa, like coffee, is maintained, if at all, by occasional clearing of grass and weeds from around the trees. Harvesting is carried out immediately before sale - if possible, on the same day.

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[1] The coffee trees in Popondetta sub-district in 1963 should have yielded about 200 tons of polished coffee, but the actual level of output was only 41 tons (DASF, Popondetta, File 1-6-A(4)).

[171] [2] This practice was followed by indigenous smallholders in Malaysia and Indonesia for two decades and resulted in the planting of millions of acres of rubber by the 1930s. See, for instance, Thomas 1965:101.

[3] In marked contrast to the more densely populated and more accessible parts of the highlands where competition among buyers is keen and some routes are visited daily.

[4] See footnote 1 on this page.

Introduction

Since the end of World War II there has been a rapid development of co-operative marketing and retailing and in some cases production amongst the indigenous people of Papua.

This paper describes the origin of the co-operative movement in the Northern District and its subsequent development and modification particularly as applied to Yega.[1] The Yega were one of the first groups to organize a producers' co-operative, under the guidance of the local Anglican Mission. The movement rapidly extended to other groups of Orokaiva.

The development of agricultural co-operatives

As early as 1940 the Reverend James Benson of the Anglican Mission at Gona had begun to preach the virtues of co-operation. Benson was imprisoned by the Japanese but returned to Gona in 1946. The first mention of any co-operative in the district comes as a brief entry in his diary on 6 October 1946, 'Foundation of Gona Public Trust' (G.P.T.). The functions of the G.P.T. are not clear beyond the fact that it was organized as a committee or board - entirely Papuan in composition, with Father Benson as advisor - aimed at investigating ways and means of improving standards of living.

One of the most dynamic and influential members of the G.P.T. committee was Samuel Ungega from Gombe village. He was a member

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[1] Acknowledgment is made to the following people who read this paper in draft and offered helpful criticism:
H.H. Jackman, Esq., Chief of Division (Business Training and Management), Department of Trade and Industry, Papua and New Guinea, formerly Registrar of Co-operative Societies (1960-2);
G. Morris, Esq., Kokopo, T.P.N.G., formerly Registrar of Co-operative Societies (1956-60);
Rev. J.L. Wardman, Mt Hawthorn, Western Australia, formerly Anglican missionary in charge at Gona (1953-61).

474 241 of Orewo lineage of the Kurou clan of Yega, who had been educated to Standard IV at Gona Mission School and had spent the year before the war working at Bunting's store at Cape Killerton. Just prior to the war he joined the Papuan Infantry Battalion and became a corporal. During the war an Australian soldier with whom he was friendly convinced him of the possibility of raising money from short-term crops. The Administration had introduced copra-making much earlier, but prices were low and there was little enthusiasm for the crop.

Even before the formation of the G.P.T., Samuel had convinced most of the Yega of the desirability of co-operative farming. Subscriptions were called for: money was available from war damage compensation and most Yega households subscribed from $10 to $20, each person contributing as much as he wished.

Clearing bush for the co-operative gardens was begun at four sites in mature rain forest at Ononda, Garara, Mumburada and Ingaba-Betari. Little information was available on the subsequent operations at Mumburada and Ingaba-Betari but some details were obtained for the Ononda and Garara projects.

Samuel placed an ex-serviceman comrade in charge at Ononda. A site was selected by Nixon Kairembora, the Yega 'land custodian', [628] between Ononda and Epa Creeks.[1] Meanwhile some of the neighbouring Beuru and Ahora people obtained Samuel's consent to join the Yega in their co-operative efforts, paid him money and were permitted by him to assist with the clearing of bush at Ononda.[2]

Crops were planted at Ononda by co-operative effort for two [439] years. The man in charge says that good crops of peanuts were grown and sold to the Administration, being taken by headload to [454] the coast, thence by canoe to Cape Killerton. The money from the sale of these crops was paid to Samuel Ungega who banked it at Higaturu. Unfortunately, no records of the amounts obtained are now available.[3] Large quantities of sweet potatoes were also

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[1] For the history of this land see pages 30 and 48 and Fig.7 of the previous article.

[423] [464] [2] When asked whether the fact that the Ahora and Beuru had cleared bush at Ononda would strengthen their claims to the land the Yega replied in the negative. They stated that non-Yega were employed only in the capacity of workmen: they were paid in produce at the time and had no further rights.

[768] [3] One of Samuel's brothers, who was a young boy at the time of Samuel's death in the Mt Lamington eruption, said he remembered numbers of Samuel's books being burned and thrown away in the bush when relatives went through his belongings.

grown. These were mainly used as food by the co-operative workers, but in times of local food shortage they were sold to other villagers. All workers, Yega, Ahora and Beuru, lived in garden houses on the Ononda garden site during the week and returned to their home villages only at week-ends.

The establishment of gardens and the work organization were similar at Garara. There also, peanuts and sweet potatoes were the main crops. According to an informant the value of the first harvest in 1947 was $190.

Unfortunately for the co-operatives, the mission organizers soon disagreed with Samuel, for the Rev. Benson's diary on 1 April 1947 speaks of him as a 'wife-deserter, and who in consequence has been put off the committee of the G.P.T.' (and presumably placed under Church discipline). It was also stated by informants that there was dissatisfaction among shareholders with Samuel's rather secretive management of the money.

At this point the G.P.T. ceased to function and the co-operative efforts of the Yega proceeded in different directions. The Anglican Mission sponsored a Christian co-operative which became known as the Gona Co-operative Society, while Samuel Ungega organized the Gombe Co-operative. He was supported by most members of his own clan (Kurou), some members of his new wife's clan (Jambapa), a few members of other Yega clans (Seseko and Konambo) and also by five members of the neighbouring Bapa sub-tribe. Four of the Bapa men were married to women of Kurou Dunemba sub-clan which joined the Bapa people in past times but with whom Yega Kurou still maintained exogamous relations. The fifth man was a brother of one of these four, having no direct affinal link with Samuel or other members of Kurou clan.

Early in 1948 the foreman in charge at Ononda was sent by the mission authorities to Boreo to instruct people in co-operative techniques. At about the same time the Ahora and Beuru labourers were forced by the Administration to return to their villages because of labour problems at home. Samuel's Gombe Co-operative then abandoned farming at Ononda and restricted its operations to the Garara site, where all land rights were held by members of the Jambapa clan, the clan of Samuel's wife.

All members of the Gombe Co-operative workforce, including the Bapa men, lived in garden houses on the Garara site from Monday to Friday each week. The Jabapa landholders permitted the members of other clans and the Bapa men to use nearby secondary forest for their food gardens. This saved travelling time and permitted the maximum time to be spent on the co-operative gardens.

The Gombe Co-operative continued operations during 1948-9 but because of opposition from the mission it never gained popular

474 241 support, a peak number of 19 households being engaged during 1949. In 1950-1 Samuel attended a nine months training course in Port Moresby at the invitation of the Administration Co-operative Officer. Samuel attempted to ensure the continuity of his scheme by appointing and training three men to oversee operations during his absence. Two of the men chosen were Yega men with close affinal ties with Samuel, the third was a Bapa man having only a remote kinship link but particular ability. The scheme continued to function smoothly during 1950. Samuel's plan was to grow annual cash crops and to build up a reserve fund for the first few years, then to undertake tree-cropping. He bought cocoa pods and had the seeds planted in a nursery in January 1951. During his training period Samuel made two trips to Gona to observe the progress of the co-[731] operative. On the second of these visits he took his daughter to the hospital at Higaturu and was among the 4000 killed when Mt Lamington erupted on 21 January. After his death no more cash crops were planted at Garara. No one knows what became of the money received but none was ever distributed to members of the Gombe Co-operative.

474 241 177 797 The mission-sponsored Christian co-operative embraced more people and a much greater area than the Gombe Co-operative. The Anglican Mission at Gona is responsible for an area that stretches approximately 30 miles north and 15 miles south and extends in a rough arc 5 to 10 miles inland. Little information was available from the mission records, but it seemed likely that the Christian co-operative, named the Gona Co-operative Society, was launched during April or May 1947, that membership among the Yega was almost universal (apart from the members of the Gombe Co-operative) and that there was no fixed share payment, each adult male contributing what he could afford. A large store was built.

[659] In September 1947 Mr John Millar, government officer in charge of co-operative development in the Territory, visited Gona and addressed a meeting of 500 people in the new store, explaining the Administration's plans for co-operatives in the area. He suggested that the present Gona Co-operative Society be split into an association of eight smaller societies, each centred in its own local community.[1] The meeting agreed and Mr Millar departed. The committee assumed that theirs would be among the first co-operatives to be registered when the necessary legislation had been passed and this was the position when Father Benson departed on home leave at the beginning of December 1947.

Mr Millar's advice was implemented after April 1948 by Rev. Alfred Clint who undertook to organize and co-ordinate the

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[1] The eight societies within the association were to be centred at Gona, Garara, Bakubari, Gombe, Soputa, Buna, Huhuru and Hamburata.

development of each of the small local co-operatives. These were all organized along similar lines but the following description applies specifically to the Gombe Co-operative which (to distinguish it from Samuel Ungega's venture) was renamed the Yega Co-operative.

The executive committee of the co-operative consisted of five members: a chairman who was a well-known elder and later became the acknowledged leader of the Yega, a secretary who was a younger man of some education and in good standing with the mission authorities, and three young and energetic members, two of them ex-servicemen who had had some post-war agricultural training at Dogura. This committee was elected by a general meeting of Yega people. Its function was to decide which land to use, when to change areas of cultivation and when to work: co-operative work days were Tuesdays and Saturdays when all people (even school children on Saturdays) were supposed to work on the co-operative gardens. At certain times, such as harvesting, extra work was necessary. The committee made the decision when to call for such extra efforts. In addition, the committee appointed people to other set duties and supervised the performance of these duties. Such positions were:

i. jobmaster, who allocated work;

ii. farm leaders, who kept farm records,[1] supervised sowing, harvesting and other technical aspects - these men had all had some agricultural training;

iii. huller operator. A rice huller was acquired and installed at the western end of Beporo village;

iv. toolkeepers and timekeepers. They kept tools in good repair, and rang the bell at 8 a.m. for staring work, at mid-day for prayers and at 5 p.m. for knocking off and prayers. Although people then lived in villages stretching along about three miles of coastline, and the only bell was in Beporo village, it was stated that in the early days of co-operative work most people were punctual; after the first year there was a gradual slackening in enthusiasm.

The secretary kept a roll book in which the names of all workers were entered. Each work day he walked round the gardens and ticked off the names of those present. There was no attempt to discriminate between hard workers and slackers. The person who worked for one hour received the same credit for attendance as one who

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[1] Unfortunately no written records of the co-operative were located.

474 worked for eight. This became an important basis for resentment
241 and discontent among the workers.

The arrival of Rev. Clint in 1948 ushered in a period of
474 dynamic growth in the co-operative movement in the district. He
241 had a deep interest in co-operatives, and had been associated in
177 Australia with the Christian Socialist Movement. He was speci-
797 fically recruited by the mission to organize agricultural co-operatives and within three weeks of his arrival he had held meetings with the members of three of the co-operatives and had discussed future development with the District Agricultural
[657] Officer, Mr Cockshott. In mid-May he commenced a weekly co-
[191] operatives instruction class covering co-operative leadership, history of co-operatives, basic techniques, book-keeping and English.

[782] Rev. Clint was insistent that Christian ritual be associated with co-operative action. Educational and committee meetings always closed with a special prayer, there were church services at which tools were blessed and newly planted seed was blessed
[795] in the gardens. This aspect of the co-operative movement was
[178] regarded with some apprehension by Administration officers who felt that it could be misunderstood by the Papuans and possibly lead to the development of a cargo cult. There was some evidence to suggest that a cult did in fact begin. Money was collected surreptitiously (its disposal was never explained), and in the opinions of some observers there was a belief among some participants that the mere formation of co-operatives and the routine performance of the work required would magically raise the Papuans in a short time to the status of Europeans. On the other hand, there was evidence to support the view that the people in their desire to improve their economic position saw co-operatives as the channel and adopted the idea wholeheartedly. There is something of both these views in the statement of the ex-chairman, who said: 'We wanted to be like other civilized countries and earn money by working together.'

In November 1948 there were 25 acres under dry rice at Gona No.1, and 10 acres under taro, 6 acres of rice and one acre of peanuts at Gona No.2. Similar areas were under crop at the other co-operatives. The first harvest in early 1949 appears to have been a success. On his return from leave in March 1949, Rev. Benson spoke of 'barns and storehouses bursting with rice, people happily busy...true comradeship and Christian co-operation'.

474 In August 1949 the first four co-operatives in the Territory
241 were registered.[1] They were, in order: Yega, Gona, Garara and
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[1] This registration was made under the terms of draft legislation. It was not confirmed by the Registrar of Co-operatives under the finally approved legislation, the Co-operative Societies Ordinance 1950.

Buna. The registering officer stated that 'the co-operative movement in this district is the only one yet far enough advanced for registration'.[1]

About this time, discussions were held between Rev. Clint and the local agricultural officers regarding the practicability of planting tree crops - especially coffee and cocoa - as eventual replacements for the annual crops then being grown. The problems associated with the establishment of these tree crops were not solved, however.[2] Had they been solved, a serious difference of opinion regarding policy would have been avoided. The divergence of views was between Rev. Clint, who saw the production of rice by co-operative methods mainly as a way of improving the subsistence diet of the people, and the people themselves, who saw it as a way of earning money. As time went on, it appeared to the villagers that Rev. Clint's interests lay only in subsistence crops and their enthusiasm began to wane. Towards the end of 1949 Rev. Clint became ill and he had to return permanently to Australia in January 1950.

In Rev. Clint's view Christian co-operatives had 'grown naturally out of the teachings of the Christian faith' (Clint 1950). Unfortunately he did not recognize that material considerations weighed at least as heavily as spiritual values in the minds of the people among whom he was working. The people had readily accepted a departure from the traditional practices of land tenure, an entirely different system of work organization; and the cultivation of a new crop, rice, which involved radical changes in their gardening techniques. The Yega, anticipating a substantial cash income, had welcomed these changes, but soon discovered that rice could not be converted readily to cash. There was no possibility of rice being grown in sufficient quantity in any one locality (for reasons of land availability and manpower) to justify the establishment of central milling facilities, and inadequate transport facilities prevented combination with other areas, even had these existed at that time. Without central milling, which would have produced a brown rice, properly dried, and saleable to the Administration and plantations, the only means of converting 'paddy' rice into a storable product was to use smaller semi-portable mills to produce white or polished rice. The milling, however, whilst converting

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[1] Quoted in the Gona Anglican Mission Diary.

[2] Specifically, lack of knowledge of the soils in the area, lack of any experimental plantings, and a shortage of trained staff.

243 'paddy' to food, prevented the conversion of the food to cash,[1]
[262] though it was quite suitable for village consumption as a supplementary food. In fact, imported white rice has now become an important 'status' food at feasts.

474 Rice continued to be grown for about a year after Rev. Clint's
241 departure; small quantities were sold by the cupful but the income
[242] received would have been negligible. In 1951 the crop was attacked by a species of 'army worm' and on the recommendation of the District Agricultural Officer was destroyed. No further plantings were made and all co-operative agricultural activity lapsed.

By 1952 co-operative agricultural activity had ceased among the Yega. The death of Samuel Ungega (the only man in the co-operative who had any training in co-operative work and the only man capable of directing activities on a long-term basis), removed from the Gombe co-operative the main driving force.

[177] The basic reason for the failure of the Christian co-operative seems to have been that Rev. Clint's aim was to produce a storable food crop whereas the Yega wanted a cash crop. The scheme was established on an inadequate business basis and with insufficient understanding of the people's deep-seated desires.

The modern co-operative and the extent of Yega participation

474 A subsequent co-operative, organized by the Administration and
[241] known as the Gona Villages Native Society Limited, came into being in May 1953. In that month share capital amounting to $2542 was repaid by the Administration to 332 members of the old Gona, Gombe (Iaga) and Garara co-operatives, most of whom immediately became shareholders, at a uniform $10 per share, in the new society. The new co-operative was to serve different purposes from the earlier ventures. There was to be no attempt whatever at communal
[443] production. Functions were to provide marketing facilities for the agricultural produce of individual members and to conduct a retail trading store.

[347] Operations were begun in a store previously owned by A.H. Bunting Ltd on the Popondetta-Killerton Road, half a mile from Cape Killerton. Originally built from local materials and with a tin

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 64]

[659] [1] Only brown unpolished rice is issued as rations to the Administration and plantation labour. The endosperm and much of the vitamin content are removed in the production of white rice, so that employers issuing white rice would have to supply additional vitamins, an uneconomic proposition.

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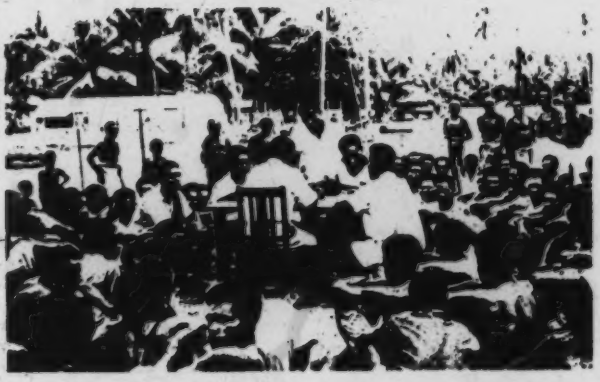

Gona villages co-operative store. Calculation of shareholders' rebates, December 1962.

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Gona villages co-operative store at Cape Killerton.

roof, the store had to be rebuilt by the co-operative in 1954, on a site adjacent to the original one; it was replaced by a permanent building, constructed on a new site only 100 yards from the wharf at Cape Killerton.

Marketing was of minor importance for the first ten years of the store's operation. Although there were numerous coconut palms in the shareholders' villages, the subsistence demands on them were heavy. Very little copra was offered for sale at the store before 1962 but production increased following a renewed emphasis on the crop by the Department of Agriculture's Extension Service. Copra turnover increased from nil in 1961-2 to $254 in 1962-3 and $1104 in 1963-4. There were at the time of this study few other cash crops in production but labour was an important source of cash.[1]

By contrast the store's retail function was rapidly established. It was for 11 years under the competent control of its first appointed manager, Mr Hankin Kombega, a local Yega man who was also secretary of the society. Within two and a half years from the start of retail trading, a net profit of over $2000 was disbursed to shareholders at the rate of $0.25 for every $2 spent. Only two other rebates were paid - in November 1960 and December 1962; the rebate which would normally have been paid about the end of 1957 or early 1958 was diverted to the construction of the new store. The average rebate paid to shareholders in December 1962 was approximately $3 per head and for Yega shareholders the average was $5.10 per head. Although these amounts may sound small, it should be borne in mind that the share basis was only $10 per head. In addition, the rate of rebate (in 1964, $0.10 per $1) was much higher than that paid by co-operative societies in Australia. The inducement offered by the rebate system did influence Yega purchasers in their choice of a retail store. Of a sample group of eight men questioned, two claimed that all their purchases were made at the co-operative store, four others estimated that over half their purchases were made there, one estimated less than half and one was uncertain.

The Gona Villages Native Society Ltd was managed by a chairman, secretary and board of nine directors, all Papuans, elected by the shareholders. The board met each month and its minutes were sent to the Co-operatives Inspector in Popondetta for approval or veto. If decisions were vetoed, adequate explanation was given.[2]

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[1] See p.65.

[2] An example was the rejection of a board decision to increase the purchase price of copra from 3½ d. to 4 d. per lb. Detailed costs were calculated to show the board that at 4 d. (3 cents) per lb. they would make too small a profit margin.

474 The finances of the store were under continual surveillance
443 both by the local inspector and by the Assistant Registrar of
[657] Co-operatives in Port Moresby to whom regular reports were submitted
[454] by the inspector. A general reserve fund was maintained and was fully invested. Provision for depreciation was made every six months; this money was banked so that the provision of a new store building would be possible within about ten years.

[438] The Cape Killerton store operated as a normal retail trading store but over three quarters of its business was conducted with its shareholders. In January 1963 there were 578 shareholders in the Gona villages co-operative store, of whom 108 (19 per cent) were Yega people. Yega shareholders purchased 34 per cent of all goods sold[1] while non-shareholders bought 13.5 per cent.[2]

[434] The high rate of spending of Yega shareholders relative to the total membership was because the Yega people live nearest to the store at distances ranging from nil to four miles, and because the Yega probably received a higher cash income than the other groups.

464 The Yega had since the early 1930s been within walking distance
167 of one of the best mission schools in the Northern District, with
[568] a European teacher permanently on the staff. In consequence young
[871] Yega men, who almost without exception left the villages to enter
[799] paid employment, were able to obtain skilled and semi-skilled jobs.
[434] In a sample group of 18 such wage-earners interviewed, the average remittance to relatives and friends in the village during 1962 was $110 p.a. As 40 per cent of the adult male work force was absent in wage-employment, a considerable amount of cash was being injected into the Yega economy. In addition, some Yega obtained a regular cash income from produce sold in Popondetta market (see Dakeyne 1965:102 ff.).

474 Expansion of membership in the G.V.N.S. Co-operative had almost
443 ceased in 1964: 561 members in 1958 increased to 578 in 1961. As
438 a branch store was opened at Buna in 1962, effective shareholder support for the Killerton store seemed likely to diminish. In any event there could be no major increase in shareholder numbers among the Yega, for nearly every adult Yega man resident in the area was already a shareholder in the co-operative. The bulk of the store's business was done with its shareholders but non-shareholding friends, such as members of a shareholder's family or visitors from the towns, were asked by shareholders to use their share numbers when making

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 67]

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[1] Calculated from the rebates given in December 1962.

[2] Calculated on the basis of sales for the months October-December 1962.

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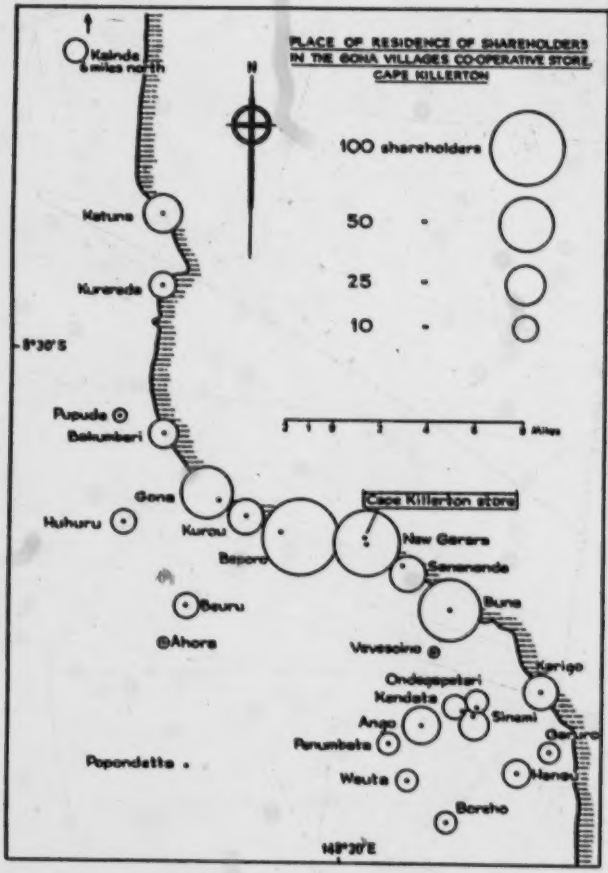

Note. At the time of joining the society Yega members lived in eight small villages but total Yega membership is shown as Beporo. In 1964 the Yega were dispersed throughout their territory in 17 localities varying in size from 30 houses to single homesteads.

474 443 438 purchases. In this way the shareholders obtained additional rebate benefits. In general, however, sales to non-shareholders correlated fairly closely with the presence or absence of small coastal trading vessels at the wharf.

[432] Most of the buying at the store was done by men. There were no women shareholders, but wives and daughters used their husbands' and fathers' share numbers when purchasing goods.[1] The men were discriminating buyers and a man who had walked some miles to the store to buy a specific item would usually stand for a while surveying the goods displayed and asking a question or two about [521] prices. After the purchase was made, usually of only one or two items, the buyer left the store, but usually stopped to chat at Surilai village on the northern side of the store before going home.

474 438 511 An analysis made of the spending patterns of a group of 27 Yega shareholders over a two-year period (January 1961-December 1962) showed that of a total expenditure of $1148, 49 per cent was spent on food (mainly tinned meat, tinned fish, rice and sugar), 11 per cent on tobacco, 11 per cent on clothing, 7 per cent on kitchen utensils, 3 per cent on garden tools and 17 per cent on miscellaneous items including torches, soft drinks, kerosene, matches, fishing gear, etc.

[262] [493] [412] The most sought after foods were those with high protein content - tinned meats and fish. Only one bicycle (costing $52) was sold during the two years surveyed. The low rate of spending on garden tools is noteworthy, considering the importance of gardening in the Yega economy; but axes and bush knives were carefully guarded and, being very durable they needed only occasional replacement.

[291] Almost every Yega child over six years of age and every adult of both sexes owned at least one item of European-type clothing. On working days, cotton skirts were worn by the girls and women, and shorts or cotton loin cloths by the men, but tapa (bark cloth) skirts were preferred by the adolescent girls and tapa boavo (bark loin cloth) by the older men for Sunday wear. Most people preferred to purchase their clothing requirements from the wider range available in the larger Popondetta stores rather than from the co-operative.

474 443 [366] Retail trading showed a remarkable increase from 1961-2 to 1962-3. The turnover doubled during the financial year but a fall-off in trade of about 12½ per cent occurred in 1963-4. This situation probably resulted from lower spending by Yega shareholders,

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[1] In the course of six or seven visits to the store I can recall only once having seen a woman at the counter.

many of whom moved their place of residence some three to five miles inland from the coastal villages along the Gona-Popondetta road during 1963-4, bringing them nearer to the larger Popondetta stores (see preceding article in this bulletin).

The rate of spending was remarkably constant throughout 1962 (the only year checked) except in December when 16 per cent of annual turnover was handled. Other months accounted for 6 per cent to 9 per cent of the annual turnover. The high figure for December was partly due to a shareholders' rebate being distributed on 12 December. Much of the money given in rebates was seen by the author to be immediately spent again in the store. Also, many men who worked outside the village returned for holidays at Christmas time with appreciable sums of money. Finally, the European custom of holding Christmas parties had been adopted by the Yega, resulting in increased spending on food.

The Yega were still predominantly subsistence cultivators with very limited financial resources. The co-operative store served a useful purpose in providing them with easily preservable proteins as well as a range of other foods, clothing, consumer goods, tools and domestic equipment.

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245 half acres of coffee or cocoa. This would yield no income for
434 the first four years and a maximum of £100 per year thereafter at current prices. This assumes an absence of land problems and crop disease. Even so, the prospect must be heavily discounted because of its uncertainty. Wage labour is now available [464] to a limited extent at a rate of £150 per year in town areas and [465] about £75 per year in rural areas.(1) At the time the coffee was planted, paid employment was scarcer and wages much lower.

411 Capital: Almost no capital is used in primary pro-
245 duction in Inonda. The few tools needed for small scale production are easily acquired from current income, the land is not an [654] item involving monetary cost, coffee seeds are available from neighbouring gardens and cocoa pods are supplied by the De-[474] partment of Agriculture at nominal cost. One man in a neighbouring village has a coffee huller in which the Inonda people have small shares, but as the Orokaiva Coffee Growers Society (to which the Inonda growers belong) provides for all other processing, there is no need for any other equipment in the villages. Although the introduction of capital may increase output, considerable increases in output are possible without it, and capital cannot be regarded as a serious limiting factor in Inonda cash cropping at this stage.

164 Health: During the period of the survey about 7% of
461 time was accounted for by sickness and caring for the sick, but details of sickness were not recorded for those who were in mourning in their houses. The total for the period is estimated at 10% of all time accounted for. From superficial enquiries malaria seems to be the main cause of illness but other common ailments seen during our stay were filariasis, gastro-enteritis and influenza. The suitability of the diet for sustained hard work is not known, though it was noticed that men seldom work two days in succession on heavy labour like bush clearing (though they performed regular heavy work for wages). On several occasions when the nights were particularly cold the people got up shortly after midnight and sat around fires for the rest of the night to

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[466] [511] (1) Indentured labour is paid less, but relatively few Orokaiva are prepared to accept indenture. Direct comparison of gross incomes from cash cropping as against urban employment ignores the fact that food and housing costs are much higher in towns.

the price at which he bought (e.g. a knife bought at 87 cents would be sold at 90 cents).

Irrespective of profits, stores are both a convenience and a source of considerable prestige to the owner.

No records of customers were kept, but from casual observation it appears that customers are either persons who are unrelated and not resident in the same locality or close kin and close friends. The more distant relatives and the residents in the owner's village often go to considerable trouble not to buy from the local entrepreneurs. They justify their avoidance with stories which depict the trader in a personally unfavourable light, though some point to the lower prices and wider range of goods in Popondetta, and others to the advantage of buying from local co-operatives which provide rebates and benefit everyone, rather than from private stores with higher prices and individual profit.

These arguments should apply equally to the customers of the entrepreneurs, but they do not seem to in practice. I assume that this is due to the fact that the entrepreneurs do provide credit, assistance with life crises and other advantages (including the attraction of close association with men of prestige) to very close friends and kin, but decline to provide these privileges to more distant kin and neighbours. These people feel entitled to special consideration and are affronted by refusal. C, the trader with the largest turnover, built his store in a village other than his own[2] and most customers come from that and three neighbouring villages. Most people of his own village of Hanau buy from a co-operative store further away. A's main clients are plantation workers, as most of his fellow villagers use the co-operative even though it involves a long walk. D's store was located on a main road until a re-routing of the road left him without his main source of clients - people walking along the road.

Since 1964, D has been buying cotton piece goods which his wife makes up on her sewing machine into skirts, dresses and shorts for sale in the store. Demand for these goods is greater than the supply and a girl is now hired part-time to assist with sewing.

A, B and D sell small quantities of garden produce or hunted meat at irregular intervals at the Popondetta market.

A undertakes commercial processing for other persons, having established a cocoa fermentary with the help of agricultural officers in 1962. The building cost $500 from his savings and an

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[1] Having limited experience in handling money most of the entrepreneurs round prices to the nearest ten cents as far as possible.

[2] The other three all have their stores adjacent to their homes.

444 Each trader in group I still holds a current trading licence and intends to re-open his store at some future date. A closed his store after only two months of operation, because his duties as a local government councillor were too time-consuming. He intended to resign before the next election in June 1966 and re-open his store.

444 B started his store in 1961 with the relatively large capital
472 of $478, of which $300 was his own money, and the remainder his
452 younger brother's. The store was built some distance from his house, but when $240 was stolen from the store in 1962, the two brothers built a new store adjacent to B's house. It was closed in June 1964. Credit had been given too freely and $157.48 was still outstanding late in 1965, and a European stated that B had
[474] been selling goods well below cost price. Competition from a
[471] local co-operative store which B helped to establish (and with which he is still closely associated) reduced his turnover. B bought his stocks on credit from Oro Ltd, and built up a large debt until further credit was refused. B still owes $220 to Oro Ltd, and due to insufficient understanding of the system, feels that he has been deceived.

Subjects C and D were awaiting the proceeds of their next cash crop sale with which to restock their stores.

444 The stores owned by group II traders have so far been only moderately successful. With the exception of G, who opened his store only six months ago, they have operated their stores for at least nineteen months. E has only recently re-opened his store, after it had been closed for four months.

[426] Group III. Trader I started his store with $200 which was lent him by his younger brother-in-law, who is a clerk with a commercial firm at Lae. The brother-in-law pays all store bills, and I had repaid him $104.

[451] J's trade store was managed by his elder brother, who could neither read nor write and did not keep any store books.

444 K started his store with $390, helped by his younger brother
474 who works in Port Moresby. K runs the store on a quasi co-operative basis, with forty-two shareholders belonging to his own and another clan. His brother contributed $200 to the initial cost, and the
[499] value of the other shares varied between 50 cents and $10. All are ultimately to be $10. Most of the store's turnover comes from other villages and the people of K's village are at present building a road to attract more people to the store.

444 L began her store with $206; when she is away, it is managed by her father.

383 and later to be provided by the people themselves. This idea was
654 taken up by the villagers and the first bush rubber processed at Ombi-Tara was purchased by the Department of Agriculture on 5 June 1964.

(439) An Agricultural Assistant was stationed full time at Ombi-Tara and he helps to grade, weigh and bale the rubber.[1] The baled rubber is purchased monthly by an Agricultural Officer who drives to Ombi-Tara from Popondetta. It is marketed in Australia through the Papuan Rubber Pool.

249 Tapping is organised on a rotation system, with one man tapping
434 the bush rubber stand each month, producing between 70 and 200 lb of Ribbed Smoked Sheet, and earning between $12 and $34, depending of his diligence and the price of rubber.

383 In mid 1964 the villagers built a smoke house, a machine house
474 and a baling house, all of local materials, for the equipment on loan from the Department of Agriculture. The baling press was
[654] provided on permanent loan by a local planter.

[402] On 27 October 1964 an Ombi-Tara Village Savings Account was
[454] opened at a bank in Popondetta with the sum of $227.50. During the following year money was paid in at irregular intervals at an average rate of about $14 per month.

On 12 February 1965 the Ombi-Tara people paid $177.72 for their own rollers and coagulating pans which they now use for processing, leaving the Department of Agriculture free to transfer its equipment to another recently initiated scheme. Extra coagulating pans were bought for $91.20 on 16 October 1965, leaving a balance of $117.84 in the village account.

[651] No deposits were made between October 1965 and the end of January 1966 because of the need to save money to pay the Local Government Council tax ($5 per man) and the Mission jubilee contribution ($2 per householder).

243 While the bush rubber processing project appears to have been a
[797] success, almost every other attempt made by the Ombi-Tara people at planting cash crops has failed. They participated in a communal rice growing project in 1950, encouraged by the Anglican Mission, but it was a failure, as were similar projects in other parts of
245 the district. Later in the 1950s a communal cocoa plantation of
[654] some 400 trees was established with Administration encouragement. Disputes over the organisation of work and the distribution of proceeds caused the abandonment of the project shortly afterwards.[2]

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[1] During our stay all rubber processed at Ombi-Tara was graded Ribbed Smoked Sheet No.2.

[2] On the communal rice and cocoa experiments in the Northern District see Crocombe 1964a:29-33.

178 and Samarai. They were away from home for
433 two years at a time and were not accompanied
464 by their wives and children. Since the war they
466 have not returned to indentured labour but
have tried other ways of earning money.

The first such experiment was an agricul-
474 tural co-operative, originated by a returned
241 soldier who got the idea from one of his
[177] wartime Australian friends. Anglican Mis-
sionaries sponsored and directed the scheme
[799] and some money was made from cash crops
of sweet potatoes, peanuts, and rice. However,
when the money was shared amongst all those
participating, it was a very small return for
the amount of work and there was widespread
dissatisfaction. The scheme was finally doomed
to failure by two events—the permanent re-
turn to Australia of the mission organiser in
January 1950, and the death of the Yega leader
in the Mt Lamington volcanic eruption in
[P.14-B]

January 1951. The failure of this scheme emphasises the important role of the individual leader in any innovation in New Guinea.

An important modification to the residential pattern resulted from the Agricultural Co-operative. Not only was co-operation practised in the gardens but co-operative theory was preached as a Christian ideal in the churches and taught in the schools and training colleges of the Anglican Mission. The teachers emphasised the practical advantages of living in a large community; for example, co-operative labour could be easily organized, social clubs could function more readily and school, church, and hospital would be more readily accessible to the majority. Most Yega accepted this view and, during 1953, many of them rebuilt their houses in a planned rectangular village, Beporo, close to the mission station (Figs. 4, 12). Here there was a tendency for the household heads of each clan to group their dwellings together and to maintain the same inter-clan relationships as had existed in the smaller villages. Nevertheless, there was a breakdown in the previously tight social control over the location of dwellings. Some men exercised this freedom by building away from their clansmen but near to their wives' kin and in some instances even sharing a dwelling with them.

Since 1960, seven new inland villages have been established along the road leading from Gona mission to the town of Popondetta. This movement inland from the coast was initiated by the development of a cocoa-planting project which is without doubt the most significant change in land use to have occurred yet. In 1960 the old wartime road between Gona and Popondetta (actually the last stage of the Kokoda Trail) was re-opened by the efforts of the Anglican missionary living at Gona. It gave access to land at Ononda which in the opinion of the District Agricultural Officer (DAO) was suitable for cocoa. As the Yega had previously made enquiries about planting cocoa, the DAO now advised them to clear a large area of rain forest and plant their cocoa in a continuous strip, which would then be sub-divided into individual blocks, rather than in the small scattered plots which is the usual pattern of indigenous cash crop plantings.

[P.15-A]

21: Belshaw E-5 (1951) 1951 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23
Mount Lamington

discussion as to the best method of undertaking community development to meet the desires of these people. Such desires of course cannot be taken for granted, and indeed the pre-eruption history of the people led many to believe that the time is not appropriate. Certainly any grandiose schemes must wait until the people are relieved of pressing immediate worries. But at the same time there seems to be a genuine change of heart. It is true that this change of heart is accompanied by a feeling of guilt, as I have pointed out before. Yet it would be folly to ignore it.

I obtained many statements of the hopes of these people for the future. Some of them were clearly stimulated by experiences in the refugee camps. All of them contrasted their hopes for the future with their experiences of the past. Here are some that were given to me in the Popota, Hagenahambo area:

"Our lack of progress is the European's fault for not teaching us better." (This point of view was very much in the minority.)

"We get knowledge from school, but we are race people. The European taught us very well, but it is hard for us to learn because of our race. All people say there is one name in Papua, but some go their own way. Australians learn just the same but they are superior because they pull together."

"We want the white man to come and teach us, but no one teaches the Papuan very good. How can we give white people good food or furniture, because we're not taught properly? But this time the Government helps us with food. It is time for us now to try hard to learn. We want natives and white man like one family. We were very bad when the volcano blew up. But now we want to help. We want to give what we can and we want to start a new life for ourselves."

How do the people conceive of this new life? In the first place, it is to take place in a new environment, particularly with new villages and new roads as escape routes in case of a renewal of volcanic activity and as an outlet for produce. In the second place, it is to be related to the "Co-operative"; and this concept of the "Co-operative" requires a great deal of explanation.

Examination of files and interviews with the people show that the history of co-operation in the area covers the whole period following the expulsion of the Japanese[3]. It originally formed an extension of the Christian Co-operative Evangelist movement founded by the Anglican Mission, which appears to be successful in the Gona and other areas. The movement spread to the Kokoda sub-district, and to the intervening Periho group, by means of propagation by Mission teachers. Its first appearance in the Kokoda area caused some consternation in administrative circles, as the unauthorized collection of money always causes alarm. A most interesting report[4] was written by the Assistant District Officer, as a result of which

[3] "In addition to the co-operatives, numerous native commercial activities were begun by the Administration before the war. These included the compulsory planting of rubber, the trees now being tapped under contract to a European planter, and the native-owned but Administration-managed coffee plantations, of which only Sangara has recently been worked."

[4] Memo. Mr. Yeoman to District Officer September 7, 1949, "Co-operative Rumours Kokoda Sub-District."

21: Belshaw E-5 (1951) 1951 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23
Mount Lamington

657 a Co-operative Officer was posted to the Northern Division. His later reports cast
474 further light on the nature of the movement.[8]

When the movement first appeared in Kokoda its apparent objects were to produce rice, as did the more regular co-operatives of the coast, and to build a store at Killerton, the port, apparently with the object of cutting costs. The rumours held that it was an order from the King that co-operatives should be formed, and that there had hitherto been no co-operatives in the area because the Government was angry with the natives for killing some Europeans during the war. Further, the co-operatives would have " bosses " appointed by the mission teacher who led the movement, and as a result of their activities the white people would leave Papua and the villagers would be in charge of their own affairs. At this point the movement seems to be very similar to a watered-down version of the " Masinga Rule " movement of the Solomons; but there is no clear evidence that there was actually a cargo cult.

The first duty of the Co-operative Officer was to regularize the position of these people, and to do this he visited the villages to obtain lists of contributors of money. He met with some resistance as a government agent, but seems to have been very successful in obtaining public confidence and in most cases lists were made. In accordance with official policy, the money was then handed back to the contributors, with the promise that regular co-operative activity would be supported and that contributions could be collected again when the people were ready for it. The Officer then moved to the Periho area, where the same situation obtained, and began to hull rice. At this stage the volcano erupted.

The reports of the Co-operative Officer at this time were frankly pessimistic. Many people refused to allow him to hull the rice when it was grown, though demonstration hulling tended to alter their viewpoint. The Officer interpreted this as showing that the people did not understand the objects of their activity, and that
[777] they were not ready for co-operation. In fact, however, the position was complicated by the way in which the co-operatives had grown up as Mission-sponsored organizations, and the resistance seems to have been not so much to the idea of production, but to the intrusion of Government in a field the people wanted to keep for themselves, with Mission assistance. Government assistance was nevertheless very necessary, as the Mission had allowed crops to ripen without hulling and in general took an unrealistic view of business aspects of the movement.

At the same time it is true that the people were vague and mystical about their activity. Co-operative gardens and co-operative houses were made. The gardens were to produce rice and vegetables for sale. The principal feature of the activity seems, however, to have been religious rather than agricultural. A cross was erected overlooking the garden, and prayers were said before activity took place. The gardens were far too small to be economical—smaller indeed than many gardens of

[8] Co-operative Inspection Reports 1950-51, Co-operative Officer Northern Division to Registrar of Co-operative Societies.

21: Belshaw E-5 (1951) 1951 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23
Mount Lamington

individual villagers. The houses were built on a standard pattern, not, as might be thought, to act as warehouses or storehouses or as offices, but as eating places for the co-operators. Long tables and benches were erected in them where meals were eaten on return from work. The whole movement seems to have been built upon faith—faith in God's assistance, and faith that, if certain procedures were adopted, certain results would follow.

Despite these very grave disadvantages, the future for native enterprise is not necessarily bad. "Co-operation" to these people does not necessarily mean co-operation in our sense. The word is used by them sometimes to mean nothing more than rice-production, sometimes to indicate the house built for the co-operators, sometimes simply meaning a better way of life. The Northern Division is remarkable for the variety of agricultural experiment that has taken place over a number of years. There are native owned rubber and coffee plantations, excellent citrus fruit is grown, and a wide variety of introduced vegetables have been planted and marketed. It may turn out that co-operative finance and marketing is more useful than co-operative production and that rice is not the most suitable crop. The whole matter needs skilled agricultural investigation and much more discussion with the people. But there is no doubt that some form of native business activity is required. And despite the ravages of the volcano there is still a fund of ready cash available for initial capital outlay. The Mission holds several hundred pounds on behalf of co-operators, and there are several hundred more still held by co-operative officials in village boxes. In addition to this money already subscribed, the people still have savings. I examined, for instance, thirteen savings bank books as a sample for the Hagenahambo-Timbeki-Popota people. The money in these originated entirely from War Damage Compensation payments, and there was an average of £4 held in balance, in a range from £1 17s. to £8 1s. In addition the same people stated that they had money in boxes, with an average of just under £10, in a range from nil to £2 to £39. It is impossible to work out from this sample the money likely to be held in the whole area; but it does indicate that there is capital available for minor equipment.

The general desire for co-operation and community development which, in a vague way, underlies the present aspirations of the people, raises numerous problems of a technical nature. Mass literacy, education in bookkeeping and technical trades, medical services, agricultural research and extension, all have their part to play, and political organizations have to be devised which are suitable instruments of control for these backward people. The role of anthropology in such a situation, which is becoming more and more common in the Pacific, is not only one of research to delineate the starting line of change. We need to know a great deal more about the ways in which people react to such stimuli and the way in which adjustments are made within native society over periods of time. Knowledge of adjustments which come through migration would have been particularly valuable in the Lamington situation. There is a need to perfect techniques of interpreting the hopes of people

241 villages had to be abandoned at the time of the eruption and rice
177 growing was never resumed. The growing of rubber by Orokaiva in
the Northern District has a long and somewhat unhappy history which
[243] will be referred to later; at the time of the eruption, just before
the Korean War drove up the prices, the rubber trees planted by
249 the Orokaiva were hardly harvested at all; Rimoldi reports that
311 in 1963 the existing stands at Sivepa were tapped to some extent
and the coagulum sold to a factory at Awala. There were six tappers
177 in his population sample of 50, who together earned $70 in one year.
[434] When I began my field work, the tapping had ceased as the factory
was no longer buying indigenously grown rubber, but a rubber
[474] cooperative was set up early in 1967, with the encouragement of
the Department of Agriculture, in a village about one mile from
Sivepa. The Department of Agriculture was also encouraging the
people to plant superior Malayan rubber trees and two men had
planted 250 and 72 trees respectively. Rimoldi reports that
"members of the clans now represented in Sivepa and Binduta"
owned four plots ranging from less than half an acre to about
three acres in area.

Since that time, however, a new plot has been established,
four and one-half acres in size, on which theoretically seven
men were to establish rubber stands. The Malayan trees were
planted here, as well as self-sown trees from the other plots
which were dug up and replanted. These plantings occurred shortly
after Rimoldi left. If the new cooperative venture succeeds, it
is likely that the new plot--most of which still remains unplanted--
will be exploited, but people were clearly waiting to see whether
sales at attractive prices would eventuate.

Orokaiva coffee plantations are wholly a post-eruption
245 development, inaugurated by the Agriculture Department shortly
177 after it was set up in Popondetta and greatly strengthened by the
311 setting up of a coffee cooperative, first under the Higaturu Local
Government Council and later independently. First plantings in
Sivepa were before 1954, in Inonda in 1955. Rimoldi reported that
in 1964, there were 1,100 coffee trees in Sivepa, owned by five
growers. Crocombe and Hogbin reported 801 trees in Inonda in
1962, owned by three households. Since that time, Inonda has not
added to its plantings, but Sivepa, along with the whole of the
Saiho Division, has greatly increased its cash-cropping activities
[434] since the 1964 census. The number of growers has increased from
five to 14--every able-bodied man in the vigor of life has his
coffee garden from which he derives an annual income of between
$50 and $100. This increase is the result of vigorous encouragement
of plantings by the Agriculture Department, a change of ideology
under the impact of the Local Government Councils and a great
improvement in the marketing arrangements. In 1966, Sivepa coffee
was collected and promptly paid for in Garombi village, about 15
minutes' walk from Sivepa. I did not take another coffee census

177 the children are principally concerned while some older people are still averse to contacts with medical personnel.

Section 7: Contacts With Chinese

563 439 At the time of the eruption there were, as far as I know, no Chinese in the Northern District. By 1966, five Chinese families had settled in Popondetta, all of them as traders. They had migrated from Rabaul and Lae, where they have trade connections. In the two years or so since their arrival, they developed considerable trade connections among the Papuans. I found that both at Sivepe and Inonda, people preferred to deal at the Chinese shops rather than at the two large established European concerns.

The main reason I was given for this preference was that the Chinese shops offered goods at lower prices. It was certainly true that these shops had a far greater range of low-priced clothing of the type Papuans like to buy. There were, however, other factors. When I had occasion to buy low-priced clothing of the favoured type, I found that the two European stores actually had some rather good stock and that the price was not actually higher. I even found that some lines were more expensive in some of the Chinese shops. This applied particularly to tinned food which the Papuans also bought.

The two European stores were certainly full of goods well beyond the means of the Papuans; when they traded there, they would have to be very careful to pick items of the right sort of price. The main trade of the European shops was with Europeans who put through relatively large orders usually on credit. The Papuan who went there with a few shillings to spend could not help but feel his economic inferiority. In one of the shops, I occasionally saw cartoons displayed which had a racist bias. In the Chinese stores, salesmen were exclusively Papuan and by no means gave preferential treatment to Europeans who went shopping there. Papuans felt much more at ease there. Furthermore, a Papuan who had a regular income or who was known to the owner and grew coffee, could get credit at the Chinese shops.

[245] [994] One of the Chinese stores introduced several new features in his business. He bought coffee from Orokaiva growers which he sent over to Lae for processing. His price was a little lower than that of the coffee cooperative, but people sold coffee to him nevertheless. Sometimes, the reason was that the cooperative bought only once a month during a scheduled visit to each district, and people might wish to sell at other times. In other cases, the reason was that only members of the cooperative could sell to the cooperative and many small growers were not members (the entrance fee had risen to $16 by 1966). Furthermore, the coffee could be used to pay debts incurred with the Chinese store.

654 The rubber plantings followed a quota established for each village;
177 in practise, a village man would make one of his garden plots available
571 to the community at large and all the village trees would be planted
476 there. This would be a communal work project. In accordance with Orokaiva tradition, however, the product of these rubber trees would be individually appropriated, each man being allowed to collect a limited quantity of rubber for himself and market it. The tasks of building the mission station and maintaining it further added to the amount of group work required. Men who took jobs on plantations once more found themselves in a group work situation which formed a contrast with the earlier tradition of individual effort.

474 It is paradoxical that the Australians, after first encouraging
177 this group orientation, soon found themselves fighting against it, in
241 the belief that they were face to face with that dangerous phenomenon "communism." The immediate post-war period, up to the time of the eruption, was the time when an ideologically based cooperative movement took root in the Northern District. This movement, which was centred on Gona, has been well described in general terms by Dakeyne (1966).
[777] It was the direct result of the work of two Anglican clergymen, Revs. Benson and Clint, who preached the virtues of cooperatives, and encouraged the cultivation of a great many village plots of rice and peanuts between the years 1947-1951. Dakeyne reports: "Rev. Flint was insistent that Christian ritual be associated with co-operative action. Educational and committee meetings always closed with a special prayer, there were church services at which tools were blessed and newly planted seed was blessed in the gardens. This aspect of the cooperative movement was regarded with some apprehension by Administration officers who felt it could be misunderstood by the Papuans and possibly lead to the development of a cargo cult. There was some evidence to suggest that a cult did in fact begin." (1966: 50)

The evidence, which Dakeyne does not cite, is interesting enough to be worth a brief mention. Kleekham, the agricultural officer for the coastal area at that time, reports in a memorandum (Kleekham, n.d.) that leaders of the movement were collecting taxes secretly and that "some mystical element was involved" in rice marketing. Kleekham had a huller and was willing to hull rice for growers" consumption or buy it for cash, but the people withheld their produce. He thought that this aloofness was due to the growers' belief "that the formation of and participation in cooperatives would--magically or mystically--in short time raise the native to the status of the European in all respects."

In some form, this movement reached both Sivepe and Inonda. At Sivepe, one man made a plot available where people could "cooperatively" grow rice. A deacon stationed at Sasembata, but a member of the Yega tribe where the movement had its origin, blessed the seeds and (according to my informant, allocated a section of the field to different individuals. The rice was hulled by the Administration's agriculture officer at Waseta and each man took his own rice back home, giving a

474 share to the owner of the land. This activity started some time after
197 1947 and ceased with the eruption of Mount Lamington. It involved
241 "everybody" at Pamba. At Inonda, both rice and peanuts were tried out. The rice was planted in one block, without subdivisions; it was hulled and sold at Higaturu government station, the money was distributed. There were two harvests between the time people started to grow rice and the time of the eruption, when rice was abandoned. Proceeds were 18 pounds and nine pounds; people's shares were two to three pounds each. The mission had nothing to do with the activity, but only the government, so I was told.

The evidence, limited as it is, leads one to wonder whether the rice produced by the cooperatives was really unsaleable, as Dakeyne suggests (1966: 61-62). On the other hand, there is no doubt that the mission lacked any marketing facilities and I would strongly agree with Dakeyne that the cooperative movement could never have succeeded except on the basis of cash sales for good prices. Sivepe, acting under mission influence, ate their own rice and did not attempt to sell it. When the people came back after the eruption, the rice was "spoiled," the deacon had been transferred to another station. In Inonda, the crop had likewise been "spoiled." Dakeyne reports that in 1951, the rice was attacked by a species of "army worm;" the District Agricultural Officer ordered all crops destroyed.

474 The pattern of production of the Sivepe rice resembles that
241 of the communal yam gardens. There also, several men may plant
[427] together in the garden of one of them; the users are then expected to make a gift of yams to the owner before taking away their own. If we put this strictly in contractual terms, a man leases land to others for one year for a fee. The lessees, together with the owner (who retains one section for himself), club together as a kind of working bee for the planting and harvesting (and perhaps some other operations). This traditional pattern was revived after the eruption in the establishment of coffee and rubber stands. Its significance, however, is somewhat changed if such common cultivations are carried on not for the sake of growing food for feasts (such as the yams), but for cash (as in the case of rubber and coffee and perhaps rice). When a common plot is established for cash crops (but not yams), the Sasembata district people call this a "company;" they speak of "company land"--the word "company" being a borrowed English word incorporated in Orokaiva vocabulary. This word has mildly millennial overtones: a "company" is the means by which the Orokaiva may acquire wealth equal to that of
[829] the Europeans. It would be unfair to say, with Kleekham, that the "company" of the Orokaiva is a mystical and magical device; it is in fact a representation of what Orokaiva believe European business to be like.

471 Today, Sivepe has three forms of economic organisation. The
[596] dominant one is that where the factors of production are entirely provided by the extended family and where the product is appropriated by the extended family also. This sytem applies to subsistence as

471 well as cash crops. The clan or village has overriding rights to the product only when a feast is being held; at such a time, people are encouraged to make extra plantings and are expected to donate what has been grown in excess to their own requirements. Such donations are represented as "voluntary" by informants.

471 The second type of organisation is that brought about by the
241 Australian government's insistence on the planting of village quota's
621 of rubber and coconut. Here, as I explained, an undivided area was planted by "all" members of the community, and the product appropriated by individuals on a sort of roster system. The land remains owned by the individual who made it available and it will revert to him when the trees die off. It is only the trees that are "communally" owned. There is no traditional precedent for this kind of arrangement.

471 The third type is that described on the preceding page. For
241 this system, the selected plot of land is divided into sections called
427 tane. This is common procedure also when subsistence crops are planted. Each tane is then lent to a person who will plant coffee or rubber there. This lending of tane is likewise traditional; a man described how his sister, after a quarrel, came back to Sivepe (she had married out) and he at once gave her a tane from his new garden to look after. The only difference, in the case of tree crops, is that the tane is lent out for a longer period, in fact as long as the borrower continues to harvest the trees (regularly). No new "communal" coffee plots of this sort have been established in Sivepe for many years; there was, however, such a plot allocated to rubber around 1964, as I have described. It was called a "company" and the agricultural officer told me that the government did not like supporting these "companies," preferring development of "individual holdings."

479 In the neighbouring village of Sasembata, where a rubber cooper-
245 ative was set up, a new variant developed in 1967. This was also called a "company;" its main asset was a small factory for processing the rubber. The "company" was also allocated a plot of land, owned by a village man, where trees were planted by a work group, with the intention of tapping and selling the rubber for the benefit of the company--there was some talk of saving up for a truck to cart the rubber and other village products. In addition, villagers planted trees on their individual land and rubber harvested from that land would be processed at the factory and proceeds would go to the grower. This scheme met with some sturdy opposition from the agricultural officer. The fear of the administration was always: cargo cults, communism, fraudulent accounting. Four Sivepe men were actively occupied for some weeks on helping to build the rubber factory. They also contributed $10 membership fee. Members were drawn from all villages closely related to Sasembata.

474 Cooperative principles were also not infrequently followed
443 in the setting up of trade stores. Rimoldi (1963) reported one such venture, involving 11 villages and centred on the Sasembata mission station. The savings seem to have totalled $60 from each of 12 clans,

474 plus other amounts of unknown size--enough for the projected establish-
443 ment of a trade store. Rimoldi's report suggests that cooperation between the villages for this project was difficult to attain; the mission teacher who was to coordinate the project withdrew. (1963: 107-108) After Rimoldi left, one of the Sivepe clans (Jegase) evidently went ahead with some scheme to open a trade store at Sivepe and lost all its money. There was some dishonesty on the part of someone, but I did not try to explore this. When I arrived, the plan to open a trade store was still alive, but people did not like the idea of its being operated by a clan; one of the families of the Jegase clan was playing with the idea of raising some money and starting one. It seems likely that the savings accumulated by the Timuma clan, to which Rimoldi refers, were lost along with the Jegase savings.

454 In 1966, two group savings accounts were in operation. People
621 had no project in mind for which these savings were intended, but it was felt to be salutary to have savings because there would be no chance otherwise, as I was told, to reach equal status with Europeans. One of these savings accounts was for the whole village, and this is probably the one opened in 1961, referred to by Rimoldi. In 1966, when these bonds matured, the Seho clan leader brought all the money home in two-dollar bills and handed these to each contributor at a meeting. Most of the contributors handed their money back for later investment. The second savings account was operated by one clan, for the purpose of its own bride price and similar payments; as it was clan money, the facts about it were secret. The village fund contained $158.

479 The only cooperative effort known to me at Inonda was a regular
439 arrangement by which vegetables grown at Inonda were carted to the Bubi Hospital and sold there, in 1967. Towards the end of 1966, some vegetables were sold in the same way to the government in Popondetta. In this case, the proceeds were shared between individual growers. The arrangement was the result of contact between the man who had become a government driver and the appropriate authorities. The carrier was an affine.

571 Finally, a notable aspect of social organisation in the post-
[554] eruption period is the emergence of leaders whose authority rests on
[177] two sources: status in traditional terms and status conferred by Australian-sponsored organisations. The village constables could sometimes be so classified, at least superficially. Only on rare instances, however, were they champions of Western values who sought to influence the minds of the people towards acceptance of these values. They did not ask their people to accept Australian organisations as a source of authority (if Weber's definition of this term be accepted)
654 but only to recognise them as an effective source of compulsion. The
571 people of Sivepe, as well as Hohorita were very much aware that the
623 position of the councillors and committees, successors of the village constables, was very different. The councillor's job was to preach the doctrine of the "new way;" people would tell me how bored they

731 657 the resettlement villages as needed, but soon replaced by issues of the sweet potatoes and later, village-grown crops. Distributions tapered off after May, 1951, and ceased at the end of that year.

Commercial Enterprises: Agricultural activities are the only kind of enterprise which are encouraged or assisted by government. These activities are mostly conducted by individual entrepreneurs. No rewards are ever given for land clearing, nor are any labour costs ever paid. The government assists by providing coffee, rubber and cocoa seeds to growers. Initially these were free; nowadays, growers are charged the cost of seed.

452 657 Although there is provision in the Territory for credit assistance for economic development, small growers of cash crops such as are found in Sivepe and Inonda are not eligible for this credit. A short time before I left, one man from Inonda (again the government driver) was encouraged to apply for a loan under a new experimental scheme for beef cattle farming, but the arrangements were not complete when I left.

245 652 The government provides marketing assistance to New Guinea growers of coffee (mainly indigenous) by a remission of duty on raw coffee imported into Australia from sources other than Papua and New Guinea to each importer who obtains a certain percentage of his total requirements from the Territory. The government does not itself 245 purchase coffee but when the Higaturu Local Government Council was 474 formed one of its initial functions was to operate a cooperative for the purchase, processing and exporting of locally grown coffee. Later [654] (in 1962), the Council withdrew from this activity and an independent Orokaiva Coffee Growers Society was formed. The reason for the Council's withdrawal was advice from the government which felt uneasy about local bodies engaging in commerical activities. The effect of the setting up of the cooperative has been that service is now no longer given to all growers but to all who have bought shares as an entrance fee and become members of the cooperative. This fee was initially $4 but is constantly rising until in 1966 it reached $20. Some non-members sold [439] their coffee to the Chinese for a lower price; others sold through kinsmen who were members, and did not always receive the full proceeds. The government keeps an eye on the operations of the cooperative; in any case, it seemed well enough conducted. Until end 1966, the cooperative depended on the government for transport: the buyer who visited villages each month to collect and pay for the coffee travelled on a government truck. It is now buying trucks of its own. The nearest pick-up point for Sivepe coffee was Garombi, one mile away; the nearest pick-up point for Inonda coffee was likewise one mile away, at Ajoro.

654 242 The government also assists agriculture through its research activities conducted in various experimental stations in the Territory which specialise in rubber, coffee and other relevant crops. A resources survey has been made of large parts of the Northern District, including the Oro-Bay--Kumusi River region with which we are concerned here. A programme for the improvement of Robusta coffee is on the way,

622 orderly. This man, like the "committee" in Sivepa, was responsible
624 for the disciplinary aspects of local government--law and order, hygiene, organisation of working parties. The giving of such orders was not considered "fitting" for the councillor who kept aloof and worked through the "committee" as intermediary while still making the basic decisions. This dual control was convenient when, for instance, the councillor wanted old houses rebuilt and set along a straight line determined by him, while the people were not very enthusiastic. It never became clear just whose authority was treated lightly; no doubt the leaders are waiting for some excuse, such as a feast, for pressing the urgency of renovation. The councillor was, above all, the ideologist for the New Day.

794 Two other formal organisations in Hohorita pursued ends likewise
● 474 related to development. One of them was a church committee similar to the one at Sasembata; the second was a cooperative known as "Village Improvement" (in English) which was raising money for a purpose yet to be determined. It might be a trade store or a truck.
454 By the time I left, this committee had accumulated almost $1,000, and
952 the purpose then had again been changed: the intention became to invest the money under a government-sponsored scheme for village "Savings and Loan" societies which follow the principle of credit unions.

474 The composition of this committee was interesting: it did not
452 include the councillor, but consisted of the head teacher at Hohorita, and a priest and a public servant both resident in Popondetta. All three belonged to the Hiveopa clan but all three were, by residence and profession, somewhat remote from the village way of life. A number of the villagers who contributed expressed for this scheme the kind of romantic enthusiasm characteristic of many Papuan cooperative movements; it was seen as a means to raise the Papuan to the same level of power as the European. I was told that loans would be granted only for equipment of permanent value--sewing machines, house building materials, lawnmovers, coffee machines and a vague and ominous category described as "special things." There were 66 members.

521 It struck me that at Hohorita, in contrast to other places, individuals and groups were keen to engage me in protracted discussions on ideological and economic matters. It was evident that this was not a mere show and that discussions of the same sort were frequent also in my absence. It was at Hohorita that I first learned, and in the clearest terms, Orokaiva views on race relations, on the significance of the councils and cash cropping, on Africa, on the Americans. Participants in the discussion were often the educated minority which seemed to set the tone for social thought: the ex-mission teachers, ex-medical orderlies, ex-drivers, ex-shopkeepers, etc.--a total of 20 men who had to some extent mastered some Western skilled occupation, and who had chosen to return to their own village. Very often it was the chance of cash cropping that had brought them back home, for they knew that they could thus get financial security and a good life. Some

521 of them made frequent visits to Popondetta and there met urbanised Sangara. A group used to meet in the hotel for what were often political discussions arising out of current events and rumours. This emphasis on the political and ideological reminded me of what I had seen among the Maori, the Indonesians and what is reflected in recent African studies: the kinship universe is crosscut by other ideas presupposing a political centre, centralised power, fundamental social and economic changes. The presence of Papuan public servants made much difference here. For instance, nobody in Sivepe, discussing [478] savings accounts, would have thought of telling me that there are 54 cooperative societies in the district only four of which are Savings and Loan Societies. This group knew the pulse of the Northern District in concrete factual terms while Sivepe relied on disconnected phenomena that happened to drift into their ken and from which their suspicions and hopes shaped an image sustained by the stories of their councillor.

Section 5: Internal Influences of the Eruption

361 Compared to the two sample villages, Hohorita is a more densely
621 concentrated settlement, with 348 inhabitants in 41 houses. When I was there, there were still two clearly separated araha; the dominant
[161] clans of the front village section were Horsopa and Oripa; in the back, Besupa and Sehopa. But within each section, there was no striking separation of the clans into "sides" as in villages in the Sasembata district. House distances were as at Sivepe.

614 In contrast to Sivepe, there is no tendency for clan groups to
621 fuse, 12 independent names being given to me. This number can be somewhat reduced if we ignore those clan names represented by a single family where the wife belongs to one of the major Hohorita clans--the wife is then the "sponsor," in Fischer's sense, of the household. Thus, two of the clan names given to me belonged to immigrants from the Sasembata district who had married into Sangara. For all practical purposes their allegiance lay with the clan of their wives. The other clan names were all Sangara, representing survivors from numerous pre-eruption villages.

592 In household composition, the smaller settlements of Sombou and Kakita rather resembled Sivepe, but in Hohorita three-generation households were more common and bachelor's houses were not found.
[597] Furthermore, many children were left parentless through the eruption and these were adopted by Hohorita households, especially by childless ones. As a result, childless households in Hohorita are far rarer than in Sivepe. A considerable number of marriages and remarriages
[423] occurred immediately after the eruption. The sharp drop in population, furthermore, left Sangara with plenty of land for the survivors, so that 25-35 year age group is far better represented in Horotia than in Sivepe.

mingled more freely as a result of travel on the government roads and trails (which they have to keep in order), trading, Mission and official gatherings, and other new opportunities for interpersonal relations. One special feature of Orokaiva life in modern times is the annual burning-off of grasslands by hunting parties in order to get wild game. This has probably involved the assembly of larger groups and is one of the few activities which could induce intersettlement cooperation. The writer sensed the parallel of the crude local fires set for garden clearing and the general burning-off of grasslands to the major burning and blackening in the wake of the volcano—doubtless a mighty job of clearing to the Orokaiva eye.

Within the limits that brief characterizations of personality norms can be valid, observers seem to agree that the Orokaiva as individuals have traits congruent with the social structure that favor individuality and mobility. Even the casual visitor gets a sense of independence, alertness, self-reliance, "strong talking," dignity, restraint, imperturbability at meeting the unexpected event, and high-tension interpersonal behavior in general. This is in particularly striking contrast to such an elaborately structured society as that of Samoa, where the writer had been working shortly before. In informal groups seen around the camps and waiting at airfields for transport, women and children, far from being in the background, kept up a busy verbal exchange with the men. The Administration has considered the Orokaiva territory as perhaps the best recruiting ground for its Royal Papuan Constabulary on the basis of these personality characteristics, including ability to meet crisis conditions such as patrols may encounter.

The Orokaiva religious history is also particularly interesting here. Their traditional faith, Williams says, though in many respects vague and locally variable, concerned itself "primarily with the spirits of the dead" and their influence on the welfare of the living. Death was appraised with particular realism, although it was considered ultimately as the result of supernatural causes. Magic had a consistent place. Orokaiva country, however, has been swept in modern times by a series of new cults indicative of religious adaptability in the face of fresh experience. First to come into prominence was the *Baigona*, or "snake cult" of 1911-12, succeeded from 1914 on by the so-called "Taro cult" which in turn had undergone a series of local reformulations by the time Williams reported on it in 1924.[7] Central features of the Taro cult were association of successful taro cultivation with the ancestral spirits, approached by way of a "shaking-fit" technique of revelation, together with somewhat new types of public ritual and symbols, including fragmentary elements from Christianity. Later Belshaw and others reported that "Christian Co-operative Evangelist" societies, which were developed by the Anglican Mission among some Orokaiva converts for the cooperative growing of rice and other crops, tended to assume a somewhat parallel and absorbing mystical agriculture context. Rumors spread of "an order from the King (of England) that co-operatives

7. *Orokaiva Magic*, Part I; see also Chinnery, E. W. P. and Haddon, A. C., "Five New Religious Cults in British New Guinea," *Hibbert Journal*, 15, 3 pp. 448-463 (1917). Materials are also found in the official reports of the time.

should be formed . . . (and that) as a result of their activities the white people would leave Papua and the villagers would be in charge of their own affairs." This type of cooperative movement was stimulated after the war, and included putting crosses in the gardens, offering prayers before gardening activity, building special houses in which cooperators could meet and eat, and collecting money for vague purposes. Even in the face of Mission reluctance and some Orokaiva opposition, Government finally stepped in to try to give it better direction; a Cooperative officer was trying to bring the situation under control when the volcano exploded.[8]

As final pieces in this background mosaic, the effects of World War II may be noted. When the Japanese moved in they formed labor gangs with the small number of captured whites, including Mission workers, later removing them when Allied attack was imminent. As battles ranged through the area, Orokaiva were drawn in as helpers, willingly or otherwise, on both sides of the lines. After the Japanese surrender, American forces built up large military establishments including airfields in the Buna-Oro Bay zone. Great numbers of Orokaiva were gathered together in work camps which were not unlike the present refugee camps as regards living conditions, food, and social structuring. In the wake of the war, War Damage Compensation representing considerable money wealth by Orokaiva standards came into the area. Some of the younger men who were "veterans" were given technical training at Higatura and elsewhere.

These Orokaiva were generally resistant to a war-stimulated movement to consolidate into larger settlements although it has had considerable vogue along the coast and in the Kokoda region. Typically, the new villages have been built in an open area, with houses drawn up like a military encampment on three sides of a square or rectangle. The inner square is used for soccer football, which is tremendously popular, and for other community purposes. Subsequent to the eruption, the Orokaiva who resettled along the jeep-roads outside the danger zone were encouraged by Government officers to build this type of village, and the houses were laid out under the official eye. First, the men left the relief camps to erect buildings, and were followed later by the women and children. These new settlements contain anywhere from 100 to 400 persons, with the kin and hamlet alignments usually kept through contiguous housing. Such units are within sight of one another, and from the air resemble a chain of fairly continuous settlements. Some family and hamlet groups, however, have inconspicuously avoided settling in these new villages although this has been difficult because Government has tried to keep a very tight supervision in case its judgment as to the danger perimeter has been wrong. A government post was established in each of the two main resettlement zones to facilitate this supervision.

Belshaw has observed this resettlement in a somewhat more advanced stage than was seen by the writer. He comments that in general the prime concern of the people was

8. Belshaw, *op. cit.*, pp. 249-252, gives a fuller account of this cooperative movement and its significance. Publications of the Anglican Mission also contain references, seen by the writer some years ago, but not available at the time of writing this paper.

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Cargo deities are renewed for each movement; in all cases their return to earth would not only bring the wealth but also a new moral order. They would banish strife, indeed brotherhood between tribes is a condition of their return. This idea existed in the Northern Province of Papua New Guinea as early as the Taro movement of 1914 (Williams 1928). The work to be done is ritual work for which the design (*ove*) is laid down by the prophet of the cult. The form of *simbari* required here has to do with certain ritual places where the miraculous return might take place – among the Orokaiva, often graveyards. As for the cargo itself, the correct term is *hande*, i.e. generous sharing out of the treasure that has previously remained hidden from the New Guineans.

All these concepts will seem marginal until one sees their implications for everyday events. To this end, let us consider the position of money as *hande*. Most anthropologists have treated ceremonial money prestations as simply equivalent to traditional valuables. But is it really? First of all, it is common knowledge that traditional valuables are no longer acceptable as a substitute for money. This has sometimes been interpreted as a purely secular liking for money, which to a westerner seems so plausible that he does not see the need for explanation. If the money is presented as a money tree, this again can be explained away as substitution within a traditional idiom.

When I discussed savings societies, I expected to be given an explanation in terms of practical spending projects or other economic considerations but was given a political argument instead. It was to equal the power of the Europeans, so I was told. Again, a friend was presented with a dollar to be taken back with him to New Zealand. He should put it in the bank there, so he was told, and then it would multiply a thousandfold. On an apparently quite different topic, wages, I was told that the wealth created by them exceeded by far what they were given as pay.

It is for this reason that Orokaiva are exceedingly interested in 'business', both cooperative and individual. I have personally observed a copra cooperative and several trade store and truck projects, both cooperative and individual. Newton (1978), in a village close to the ones I know, describes in much detail six trade stores, four truck ventures and a cattle project, which represents a great deal of activity for one small village over a six-months period. Several of these projects were cooperative. All of them were failures. The fact that the ventures all fail does not stop people from repeating the experience year after year.

Let us now consider in detail one of the events described by

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Newton. She points out that though, in general, people help each other without expecting payment in money, cash must be paid for activities where the employer expects to make a profit, i.e. where he is engaged in 'business'. There was a Youth Group who offered themselves for labour contracts but nobody "hired the group to build a house – a subsistence activity". Labour was "treated as a commodity" and used only to create exchange values.

Now, Newton suggests this was because such money-making "was seen as a corporate action and necessitated profit sharing". Thus, children were paid if they carried cash crops to market. They were, however, compensated according to age, rather than according to time and labour input. "Eldest sons and daughters received a large portion, as might senior shareholders in a family company."

Thus, people were doing exactly the same labour in the village as they were paid for outside. Outside, this labour was alienating because workers had no control over the product of their labour. In the village businesses, they did share control of the product. But, from the pay rates quoted by Newton, it is clear that the 'business' could never afford the rates allowed. Why this perpetual disproportion between the small yield and the large distribution to shareholders?

The common pattern in all the data I have quoted lies in the miraculous increase of which money is thought to be capable once it has been subjected to certain ritual practices which the Orokaiva call 'business'. These are rituals which work when practised on a taro shoot – it swells, it multiplies. Ever since the taro cult, taro is the model for multiplication.

But the problem thus posed is insoluble. How, indeed, could these businesses prosper? Only by paying the workers less, by giving no credit, by ensuring that one takes more money from the brothers in the village than they ever get back. Only, in fact, by their alienation. There are so few of them; they have so little – one must be greedy indeed to survive in those villages in business. But alienation is not part of their project. They want the businesses to succeed without alienation. It is in this that they are a religious rather than economic practice.

Thus it is not from ignorance that they fail. Furthermore, it is only the White observers and social scientists who see anything tragic in these failures. If the Orokaiva thought them tragic, they would stop setting them up again and again. Miss Newton rightly comments that you gain status even by, and especially by failing. Your business dies; its limbs or assets are spread among the multitude and increase exceedingly. It is a religious practice.[37]

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appears to be the standard response to lack of time, rather than foregoing coffee.

22. On New Guinea concepts of paid labour and the yield of such labour I learned a great deal from Cloutier (1975–1978).

23. Auge's material on the rich who were inevitably suspected of being zombie masters (1975) is a good illustration of our theme. But on this same phenomenon, see also Ardener (1970).

24. For a somewhat similar analysis of suicide, this time in Polynesia, see Firth (1967, Ch. 5) on suicide and risk taking in Tikopia.

25. For a further example of 'exploitation' of the defeated see Meggitt (1977: 25–26).

26. In *Zur Genealogie der Moral*, Nietzsche (1954: 761–900) offers a detailed discussion of the principle of reciprocity, concerning which he held views rather radically opposed to those of Marcel Mauss. He regarded it as a delusion to be eradicated. Orokaiva likewise regard it as a delusion if practised outside the 'security circle' (see Schwimmer 1979a).

27. This argument, and indeed this entire essay, is close in orientation to Dumont (1977) which can be read as an attempt to set limits on economism in anthropology and elsewhere. We do not question the importance of economics but the delimitation of economics as a separate domain.

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